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In Africa Today:

THE TRUTH THAT HURTS

FACTS AFRICAN LEADERS SOUGHT TO SUP-
PRESS AND EXPUNGE FROM THE RECORD OF
THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

ON OCTOBER 11, 1961, Mr. Eric H. Louw, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Africa, delivered his main policy statement before the plenary session of the United Nations General Assembly.

As leader of the South African Delegation, he was exercising the right of all Member States of the United Nations to express the views of his country freely on various international issues. The right of free expression of views by representatives of Member States has always been honored by the United Nations, whether they were from the West, the East, the Communist bloc or from Africa.

The Foreign Minister went on to explain the policies of the South African Government. These policies had been attacked in the debates of the previous two weeks by several African representatives in what had every appearance of a prearranged campaign.

After the speech, the representative of Liberia moved that the whole statement should be expunged from the records of the Assembly. He was supported by the representative of Ethiopia. This move was subsequently abandoned in favor of a motion to censure South Africa for a statement which was "offensive, fictitious and erroneous". With Liberia and Ethiopia, Ghana, Nigeria and others took the lead in pressing for the motion of censure which was adopted.

The statement which gave rise to such extraordinary proceedings in this world forum is printed here in full, as it was delivered by the Foreign Minister of South Africa. The right to judge is left to those who read it.

"It was recalled that Soviet speeches during the past year often referred to the late Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld as a 'murderer', but no one moved for censure of such statements as 'offensive, fictitious and erroneous.'"

—*New York Herald Tribune*, October 12, 1961

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Let them reread that speech of mine; let them take it home and read it carefully. If those with an open mind read it, I am quite sure that if they want to be honest they will have to agree that my statement was a fair statement, an objective statement. It was designed mainly to show that these attacks being made on South Africa are not justified, that they are based largely on false and often malicious press reports."

—MR. LOUW, during discussion of Liberia's motion in the U.N. General Assembly.

THE TRUTHS

... that Liberia and Ethiopia sought to suppress by trying to have Mr. Louw's entire speech expunged from the record:

"It is however interesting to find that more than one book dealing with conditions in two of the oldest independent African states, viz. Liberia and Ethiopia, tell of the appalling state of living conditions and also of illiteracy among the masses in those states. Even more interesting is the fact that it is those two states that have taken proceedings against South Africa in the International Court in which, inter alia, the Republic is charged with not having promoted to the utmost the welfare of the inhabitants of South West Africa."

... that were regarded "offensive, fictitious and erroneous" by Ghana:

"Soon after achieving independence, (Dr. Nkrumah) rid himself of an effective parliamentary opposition, and further threw overboard the democratic principles which had been preached in Ghana by a succession of British administrators and governors. Only last week further steps were taken to convert Ghana into an authoritarian state. The ruler of Ghana is flirting with Moscow and Peking. Guinea, soon after being given its independence, promptly became a disciple of Moscow. Mali appears to be going the same way, and others are likely to follow."

"That there are differences of opinion is another point. . . . But there is no reason, because I take up certain views, why it should be said that my statement should be expunged from the record. "What is sought to be done here today, is to apply a double standard. We cannot have a double standard for the strong nations and another for the smaller nations: in the same way, we cannot have one standard for a group which these days happens to be a very strong group — a group of states from Africa, with the assistance of certain other states — and another standard for, say, a minority group."

— MR. LOUW in reply to Liberia's motion in General Assembly

"The Australian representative has said that the speech should form a part of the record on the ground that if it is not a part of the record we will not be able to answer South Africa. But if it is not part of the record, we need not answer it. There is nothing to answer.

— MR. H. F. COOPER (*Liberia*).
From provisional
U.N. Verbatim Record.

"Besides making comparisons that have absolutely no value whatever, he (the representative of South Africa) has seen fit to insult us all. Since it saves my delegation from replying to him — which, by the way, would be quite useless because he has a closed mind from beginning to end — I fully support the motion of the representative of Liberia", i.e. to delete the South African Minister's statement from the record.

— MR. GEBRE EGZY (*Ethiopia*).
From the provisional
U.N. Verbatim Record.

THE AMERICAN PRESS VIEWPOINT:

MR. LOUW'S RIGHT TO SPEAK

"If the General Assembly is to be kept open as a forum for all opinions and all authorized speakers, it is destructive and wrong to take the kind of step that the Assembly has taken. The Assembly has no right to lay an embargo on words. . . . The Foreign Minister of South Africa is, we think, completely wrong in his main argument and completely right in his insistence on being permitted to present the argument before the General Assembly." —*New York Times*, editorial, Oct. 13, 1961

FREE SPEECH AT THE UNITED NATIONS

"Those Africans who led the General Assembly in its vindictive censure of the Union of South Africa took another step toward wrecking the United Nations from within. . . . The real loser was not South Africa, but the United Nations. Any restriction on free speech undermines the integrity of the Assembly itself."

—*New York Herald Tribune*, editorial, Oct. 13, 1961

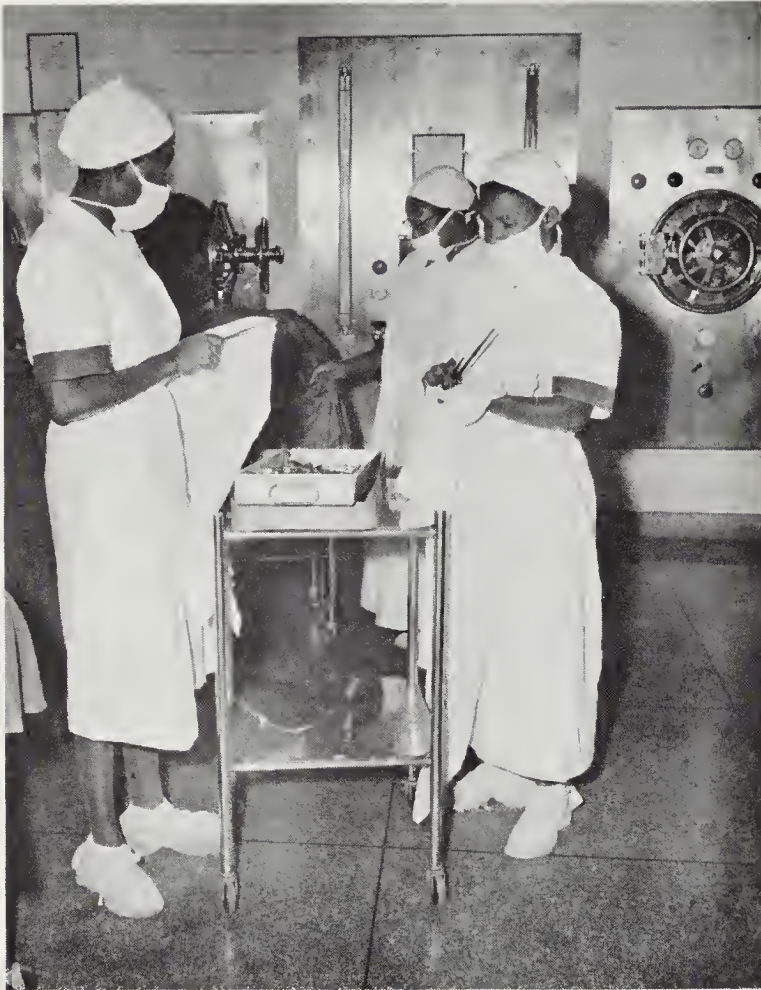
FISHWIVES IN THE UNITED NATIONS

"Nothing that South Africa has done and nothing that its representative said justified the mob-like censure which the United Nations General Assembly visited upon that country and its Foreign Minister, Mr. Eric H. Louw. The Assembly, in this act, behaved like a lynch mob, excited by passion, hate, vengeance and hysteria. The fact that it can be swayed by this kind of intolerance and antipathy is an ominous portent indeed. . . . The new African nations have done themselves and their friends an injury and have seriously embarrassed the United Nations General Assembly." —*Washington Post*, editorial, Oct. 13, 1961

A BAD VOTE

"The 100-member United Nations General Assembly has not distinguished itself in voting, 67 to 1, to censure South Africa because of the address delivered by Foreign Minister Eric H. Louw. The censure is without precedent, and the bitter, mean, emotional bias behind it adds up to the sort of thing, too frequently recurring that makes one wonder about the U.N.'s survivability in terms of the next year or two. . . . For the vote, engineered by a number of newly established and quite inexperienced African states, constitutes an injustice to South Africa—an injustice doubly offensive because of the stupidity and immaturity responsible for it."

—*Washington Evening Star*, editorial, Oct. 13, 1961



Biggest hospital in Africa and one of the biggest specialist hospitals in the world is Baragwanath, outside Johannesburg. This hospital for Bantu has 2,500 beds and treats nearly 600,000 out-patients a year. It employs 182 full-time doctors (of whom 16 are Bantu) and 1,000 Bantu nurses.



The Bantu of South Africa are progressing towards complete literacy at a faster rate than any other black group of Africa. In 1952, a Unesco report put the literacy rate among South Africa's Bantu at 21.8 per cent; it has since risen to 35 per cent.

In 1960 there were well over 1,500,000 Bantu children enrolled in nearly 7,000 schools. There are 43 teacher training colleges attended by 6,000 student teachers. There are three Bantu university colleges. And some 2,200 Bantu already hold university degrees.

Expenditure



FACTS

... that Ghana, Nigeria and other African states regarded as reason enough to censure South Africa in the United Nations:

- There is peace, prosperity and economic stability in South Africa, in spite of attempts by agitators and subversive elements, inside and outside of South Africa, to stir up trouble among the nonwhites and to harm South Africa's economy. . . .
- They are further actively encouraged by the leaders of certain African states. An interesting feature of this latter type of encouragement is that it is an important element in the keen competition among certain leaders to assume the leadership of the African states. In bidding for that honor, the idea is that one that hits South Africa the hardest, is likely to gain the favor of the smaller African states! The leaders are of course not really worried about the Bantu in South Africa, because they know that they are far better cared for than the masses in their own countries.
- It is interesting to note that one and one-third million Bantu from neighbouring territories who have come to live in South Africa evidently do not mind the alleged oppression. On the contrary, they share in the many benefits, e.g. social and medical services, housing and education, provided by the Government and by municipal authorities of South Africa for their own nonwhite citizens.



Mr. Eric H. Louw addressing the General Assembly of the United Nations.

THIS IS THE FULL TEXT OF

MR. LOUW'S SPEECH

MR. PRESIDENT,

The Sixteenth Session of the General Assembly opened with the United Nations facing the most crucial test of its chequered career. The world is in a state of turmoil and many people are living in fear. There are trouble spots in many parts of the world, the most dangerous being the Berlin situation which has become linked with uncontrolled nuclear testing. The prospects of securing disarmament are daily receding into the background.

To add to this state of international tension, there came the tragic death of the Secretary-General, which gave an impetus to the campaign launched last year against Mr. Hammarskjöld personally by the Soviet Union and her satellite States. After his death, attempts were immediately made to exploit this tragic event for the purpose of creating geographical and ideological divisions in the United Nations Secretariat. The Soviet and satellite delegations are continuing with this campaign, and no settlement is in sight.

The peoples of many countries are asking where and how the United Nations is fitting into this depressing and dismal picture. They want to know what has happened to the lofty sentiments and noble purposes set out in Chapter I of the Charter.

What does the record of the past 15 years show?

Instead of "harmonising the actions of nations", and "achieving international co-operation", the annual Assemblies very soon became

battlegrounds for conflicting national interests and rival ideologies. The annual meetings provided opportunities for international intrigue, and for the formation of rival racial, geographical and ideological “blocs”. Not content with an East-West rivalry, a so-called “third force” is in process of being established. All this is a far cry from the injunction of the Charter to “harmonise the actions of nations”.

Delegations give prior consideration to their own national interests — or to the interests of the group to which they belong — rather than to judge issues on their merits. Caucus meetings of the different groups or “blocs” have assumed greater importance than meetings of the Assembly, or of the different Committees.

The purposes and ideals set out in the Preamble and in Article I of the Charter, are relegated to the background. Delegations are increasingly interfering in the domestic affairs of Member States, generally for the purpose of serving their own selfish ends.

There are Member States that, at meetings of the General Assembly, and elsewhere, pose as the champions of human rights and of human dignity, but who close their eyes to the fact that these principles are not honoured in their own countries. Among these are the delegations of Russia and her satellite countries, who conveniently ignore conditions existing in Hungary and in Russia’s colonial or occupied territories.

So also, they strongly urge the right of self-determination, provided it is applied only to territories not under their control. They vigorously protest when it is sought to be applied to the millions who are living in Soviet-dominated countries. So also when the right of self-determination is claimed by the Naga people or the Sikhs in India.

THE PARLOUS STATE OF UNITED NATIONS FINANCES

So much for political conditions obtaining in the Organisation.

No organisation, political or otherwise, can hope to survive if its financial position is unsound. The last financial report issued by the late Secretary-General revealed an unsatisfactory state of affairs. This was recently summarised and commented upon by one of the world’s best-known newspapers, the London Times, which in an authoritative article described the United Nations as bordering on bankruptcy. I cannot do better than to quote from this interesting article.

The writer, who is the United Nations correspondent of the London

Times, opens his article with the question: "How long can the United Nations go on supporting its military operations in the Congo . . . without going bankrupt?"

After pointing out that at the time of writing the Congo and Middle East Emergency Forces were costing \$140 million per annum, which is more than twice the United Nations' normal annual budget, the writer asks, "How can the Organisation hope to extricate itself from this extraordinary expenditure?" He adds that already a considerable number of States are in arrears with their annual payments. He points out that "with the exception of South Africa, the 26 African States together contribute only 2¼% of the annual budget". He could also have pointed out that on the normal U.N. budget, the total arrears exceed \$83 million, and that for the maintenance of the U.N. force in Suez the arrears amount to approximately \$21 million. About 70 States are in arrear with their contributions to the Congo adventure.

The writer dismisses the suggestion of internal economies which, he says, "would not make the difference between solvency and bankruptcy". He deals with the suggestion of tiding over the trouble by raising loans from banks and from financial institutions, but does not find that suggestion very helpful.

He writes: "To keep going, the United Nations has been borrowing from its working capital and from its special fund and from its Children's Fund (UNICEF)".

REMEDIAL ACTION?

The writer suggests remedial action such as "liquidating both its Congo and Middle East operations". Another suggestion, he says, is "to divide the normal budget into Secretariat expenses on the one hand, to which all members would continue to contribute; and on the other hand, operational expenses to be financed by those members who favoured them, and were willing to pay for them".

The article concludes with the statement: "The United Nations cannot be kept going for many more months at its present rate of income and expenditure, without going bankrupt. When the General Assembly meets on September 19th, it will be confronted with the urgent need to scale down the Congo operation. After October the Congo operation may have to be wound up".

In passing, I may mention that in dealing with unnecessary and

fruitless expenditure incurred by the United Nations, the writer in the London Times did not refer to the cost incurred by Mr. Fabregat's party which attempted to enter South West Africa illegally, and after having been thwarted in that attempt, then proceeded to wander about the rest of the African continent—at United Nations' expense!

THE CONGO ADVENTURE

The writer of the article in the London Times from which I have just quoted, is particularly concerned about the alarming financial aspect of United Nations' action in the Congo.

When this matter was discussed at the special session of the Assembly last year, I warned against precipitate action. The history of the United Nations' actions in the Congo is not a happy one, and even now, no one knows where it is going to end.

Recently there has also been the action taken by the United Nations forces against President Tshombe of Katanga. Conditions in Katanga have been relatively stable, both politically and economically. Instead of appreciating these conditions, the United Nations military forces acting under the Security Council resolution of 21st February swooped down on Katanga, thereby creating those very conditions which the Organisation was supposed to prevent!

At last year's special session, I stated from this rostrum that, quite apart from the doubts which existed whether action taken by the United Nations, primarily for the purpose of restoring internal order, was in all respects justified, there was the important question as to whether the United Nations had the right to intervene in the internal conflicts of the Congo, or in political conditions in the Congo, referred to in the resolution then before the Assembly. I said: "This raises the further question as to whether the type of State which will eventually emerge in the Congo is any concern of this Organisation".

I referred to the fact that the leaders of Katanga had expressed the desire to have a different constitutional arrangement, and I then said: "This surely is a matter for the Congolese themselves, whose decision, I submit, should not be influenced by resolutions of this Organisation or by the actions of any other State".

That was the view which I expressed on behalf of the South African delegation more than a year ago. That is still our view,

which has been justified and further strengthened by recent events in Katanga.

Military action was obviously taken for the purpose of forcing a political arrangement on the people of Katanga, and incidentally for securing the mineral wealth of the Province. It was not taken for the purpose of maintaining order, and is thus in conflict with the Security Council resolution of 17th February 1961, which *inter alia* expressed the conviction that “the solution of the problem of the Congo lies in the hands of the Congolese people themselves, without any interference from outside”.

As I have said, conditions in Katanga have been relatively stable, both politically and economically. As a result of orders, for which Mr. O'Brien may or may not have been responsible, military action was taken which I personally am inclined to describe as aggression, with resultant conditions of chaos.

When I spoke on this matter on the 19th of September last year, I said that South Africa reserved its position in regard to expenditure to be incurred in the Congo. I now give formal notice that South Africa is not prepared to contribute to the expenditure incurred or to be incurred by the United Nations in the Congo.

I would here remind the Assembly that the Republic of South Africa—unlike a number of other members of this Organisation—is not in arrears either with the payment of its annual dues to the United Nations, or with our contribution to the upkeep of United Nations troops in the Suez area.

In passing, I would add that the South African Government has serious doubts as to whether the United Nations force should continue to be maintained in the Suez area. It is surely not intended that it is to be kept there indefinitely! I would add that, in view of the difficult financial situation now facing the Organisation, the time may have come that those who favour projects leading to extraordinary expense, should also be willing to pay for them.

AFRICA

As the representative of an African State, I naturally would like to review the African scene. What is happening on this vast continent which occupies the strategic position of being situated between the West and the East?

The outstanding feature of events in Africa has been the large number of African territories that have attained independence during the past two or three years. At the beginning of 1958, there were only three independent black States in Africa. Today there are 28 African States and more are soon to follow.

PREMATURE INDEPENDENCE

While the attainment of full national independence by a country or people is a matter for congratulation, the question must inevitably arise whether such country is able, and ready, to assume the responsibilities of independent statehood. That question has arisen, and will again arise, in connection with the Soviet item on the agenda calling for a time-table for independence for all dependent countries except in their own occupied territories.

In August of last year, no less a person than Sir Abubakar Balewa, the Prime Minister of Nigeria, stated in a television interview at New York: "I do not believe that Africa's non-self-governing territories will benefit from the immediate granting of independence. I don't think there are enough trained people to man the civil service".

Sir Abubakar speaks from experience. Under the system of "colonial oppression", as it is so often termed, the British not only prepared his country for independence but were good enough on their departure to leave a large number of trained civil servants and technicians to assist Nigeria during the first years of independence.

In view of his statement, one wonders whether the Prime Minister of Nigeria approves of the high-handed action of the United Nations in arresting and also deporting European civil advisers of President Tshombe of Katanga, who was anxious (as were the Governments of Ghana and Nigeria) to retain the services of trained advisers for the purpose of ensuring the continuation of the stable economic conditions which have prevailed almost since the United Nations General Assembly decided to take action in the Congo.

Mr. Iain Macleod, new Leader of the British House of Commons, who certainly cannot be described as being antagonistic to the aspirations of the Africans, is filled with similar misgivings. He recently stated: "There is considerable anxiety about the pace of events in Africa . . . I share these anxieties. I think that the pace of events in Africa, and elsewhere in the Colonial Territories, is dangerously fast".

A MISTAKEN POLICY

The leaders of the anti-colonial campaign in the United States, in Europe, and also in the United Nations Assembly, laboured under the mistaken impression that the parliamentary system of government, born in Britain and adopted by other Western countries, including the United States of America, could be grafted on to the traditional customs and practices of the African peoples—or shall I say, transplanted to the alien soil of age-old African tradition. It simply does not work that way. One reason is that the masses in many African countries are illiterate, and in some cases are told to vote for a symbol, e.g. an animal, printed on the voting paper. In any case, even the educated Africans do not appear to be interested in or enamoured of the Western system of political parties, that compete with each other for governing the country. It is a foreign plant that will not thrive on African soil. This system has recently been criticised by Sobhuza II, the Paramount Chief of the British-protected Swazis, and also by Mr. Chimperbere, one of the Nyasaland leaders.

Mr. John Tettegah, the Secretary-General of the Ghana Trade Union Congress, was equally emphatic when he told an Accra gathering in December last: "Africa does not need a Westminster-type parliamentary system in which two or more political parties compete with each other for authority . . . Africa cannot afford to accept foreign systems which are incompatible with the African way of life, thought and practice".

In speaking thus, Mr. Tettegah was echoing the sentiments of his leader, Dr. Nkrumah, who soon after achieving independence, rid himself of an effective Parliamentary Opposition, and further threw overboard the democratic principles which had been preached in Ghana by a succession of British administrators and Governors. Only ten days ago further steps were taken to convert Ghana into an authoritarian State. The ruler of Ghana is flirting with Moscow and Peking. Guinea, soon after being given its independence, promptly became a disciple of Moscow. Mali appears to be going the same way, and others are likely to follow. The Congo (Leopoldville) may well be the next. In past years, when the United States and other Western delegations were taking the lead in attacking colonialism and urging the African States to become independent, they little thought that they were securing future recruits for Moscow and Peking.

As I shall show later in my address, South Africa has profited by the mistakes made by some of the Colonial Powers, and in its Bantu legislation is building up a system of self-government for the different Bantu ethnic groups, which, while observing democratic principles, takes account of Bantu tradition and custom.

BANTU PROGRESS

Let us take a look at my country.

The first thing that strikes one, is that while there has been unrest and turmoil in several other African countries – from the U.A.R. and Ethiopia in the North and Ghana in the West, to Northern Rhodesia in the middle-South – quiet conditions prevail in South Africa in spite of strenuous efforts by subversive elements in London, New York, Accra and Cairo, acting in concert with Bantu subversive organisations, to stir up trouble in the Republic. The activities of these organisations and of expatriate Bantu agitators has had little influence on the South African Bantu who prefer satisfactory social conditions and economic progress.

In this connection, I would mention that a recent despatch in a leading newspaper from its representative in Johannesburg, supposedly based on a speech by the Minister of Economic Affairs, not only gives a false impression of that speech, but also gives a distorted picture of South Africa's economic condition. This particular reporter is in the habit of sending biased despatches from South Africa.

In common with certain other Western countries, South Africa has experienced a drop in her exchange and currency reserves. In order to forestall a possible further drop, it was decided to exercise the right of Members to draw on the International Monetary Fund. As is usual in such cases, permission was granted to draw one half of the requested amount immediately. It is known that an influential member of the Fund later expressed doubts as to whether alleged conditions in South Africa would justify permission to draw the second half – or “tranche” at a later date. It gives me much pleasure to inform this Assembly, and particularly those who were inclined to have doubts about South Africa's political and economic stability, that it has not been necessary to draw even the first “tranche”, owing to the progressive increase in our currency reserves, and because of South Africa's basically sound economic condition.

According to United Nations statistics, the annual per capita income of the South African *Bantu only*, has during the five years from 1953 to 1958 increased by more than 64%. This increase is progressively being maintained. He is living in a well laid-out Bantu township, in a neat home, provided with the necessary amenities, electric light, drinking water, satisfactory sanitary arrangements. His children receive both primary and secondary education, and the elders of his community draw old age pensions at the end of each month.

Medical and social services are provided for the physically unfit. In respect of social and medical services, housing and education, South Africa per capita of its nonwhite population spends considerably more than any other State on the whole of the continent of Africa—about 5 or 6 times more.

This particularly applies to health services. The Baragwanath Hospital which serves the Bantu and coloured population only of Johannesburg and its environs, is the largest and best equipped on the continent of Africa, and in fact ranks among the best in the world. There are 46 wards and 10 operating theatres. Beds are available for 2,500 patients. The hospital is served by 182 *full-time* medical doctors, of whom about half are specialists. At present 15 of these are Bantu doctors, and this number will be progressively increased. There are 1,000 Bantu nurses, and all the ward-sisters are Bantu.

Six hundred thousand out-patients receive medical attention annually. No African country can boast of anything nearly approaching a hospital of this size which serves nonwhites of only one of South Africa's large cities. There are large hospitals for nonwhites also in many other centres, particularly the huge King Edward VIII Hospital at Durban.

These facts are of course never disclosed by South Africa's enemies and critics. The totally false impression is given again in the course of this general debate, that the nonwhites of South Africa are ill-treated and oppressed, and that they have to be "saved" by the United Nations.

SOUTH AFRICA CAN ASSIST THE AFRICAN STATES

I have said that the nonwhites in South Africa share in the growth and prosperity of the country. I have indicated the extent to which the needs of the Bantu are being attended to by way of housing, social and medical services.

But South Africa's growth and the advanced state of its industrialisation could be of great benefit also to the emergent African States. In support of this contention I quote a statement on August 20th by Mr. Tom Mboya, the African leader in Kenya.

After violently attacking South Africa because of what he termed "South Africa's policy of racial discrimination", he made the following statement: "With its high degree of industrialisation, technical progress, man-power, resources and materials, South Africa could have been a pillar of the new and independent Africa. The emergent nations of Africa would have looked to South Africa as a sister-nation, before anyone else, for aid and guidance".

Not only has Mr. Mboya correctly described what South Africa has achieved, but I fully endorse his opinion that the new States of Africa could look to South Africa for substantial aid and for guidance in regard to industrial, scientific and other matters — provided of course that the African States wish to make use of that aid.

THE HAND OF FRIENDSHIP

I myself, in my capacity as Foreign Minister, and also the present and previous Prime Ministers of South Africa, have in the past expressed our real desire to co-operate with the other African States in matters of common concern, and to give advice and practical assistance where necessary, as indeed we have frequently done through the C.C.T.A. and F.A.M.A.

On many occasions and again this year, we have willingly acceded to requests from African States and territories to supply vaccines and other remedies for animal diseases from the world-famous Onderstepoort Veterinary Institute. We have done so also in cases where the African country concerned has taken up an actively hostile attitude towards South Africa.

South Africa has played a leading part in the work of the C.C.T.A., and yet at the Abidjan Conference earlier this year several African delegates demanded South Africa's expulsion from that body. One of the delegations even walked out whenever the South African delegate participated in the discussions. Similar hostility to the South African delegation was shown at the E.C.A. Conference at Addis Ababa.

On the other hand, where certain African countries have taken

measures to boycott imports from South Africa, we have not retaliated, and their exports are still freely admitted to South Africa.

RACIAL "DISCRIMINATION"

Mr. Tom Mboya is quite right. South Africa *can* "give aid and guidance" to the other African States—and is willing to do so, as in the past.

What then is his reason for declining assistance from South Africa?

I have already referred to the reason which he gave in the first part of his statement, viz. what he termed "South Africa's policy of racial discrimination."

African leaders who, I am sure, keep in touch with happenings in other parts of the world, are of course aware of the fact that colour and racial discrimination is practised in certain Western and also in certain Eastern countries that are members of this Organisation.

The reply generally is: "Ah! but in those countries discrimination and segregation are not sanctioned by law, as in the case of South Africa." Leaving aside for the moment the question whether South Africa's policy of differentiation and separate development is the same as the discrimination and segregation practised in other countries, that reply offers cold comfort to the nonwhites in those countries who are victims of racial discrimination. Does it help them in any way if the central Government of a particular country frowns upon racial discrimination, while it is sanctioned and certainly not prohibited by municipal, provincial or state authorities of that country? Have leaders of African delegations in this Assembly taken note of this "unofficial" type of racial discrimination? And what about the almost criminal neglect of the needs of small nonwhite communities in certain Western countries? Why pick on South Africa? Are there perhaps political and particularly economic and financial considerations which induce the leaders of the African States to close their eyes to the actual practice of colour discrimination as well as religious, caste and other forms of discrimination in certain countries, while threatening sanctions against South Africa? In the history of the Union (now the Republic) of South Africa, there has never yet been a single instance of organised attacks by whites on nonwhite members of our population. Again I ask: "Why pick on South Africa?"

FACTS TO BE BORNE IN MIND

What actually is the basis of the charges made against South Africa, inside and outside of this Assembly?

The main complaint is that the huge non-white majority does not share full political equality with the whites—that the principle of “one man one vote” is not applied. It is not seriously contended by our critics and enemies that the non-whites in South Africa are oppressed, and that their material needs—housing, social services and education—are not attended to. On the contrary, as I have pointed out, in these respects far more is done for South Africa’s Bantu and other non-whites than in any state or territory on the continent of Africa.

In order to appreciate the position in South Africa, the following basic facts must be borne in mind:

- (a) The white population of South Africa is a permanent one whose ancestors came to the country more than 300 years ago. We are not “colonists” as is often erroneously alleged. We cannot return to the countries of our forebears. We are strangers in those countries, just as the Roosevelts, the Eisenhowers, the Diefenbakers and Vanderbilts are today strangers in the countries of their forebears.
- (b) The Bantu, or black, peoples of South Africa are *not* the original inhabitants of the country. Their ancestors moved southwards from East and Central Africa and crossed the Limpopo River at about the same time that the original Dutch settlers arrived at Table Bay. At that time the only inhabitants of South Africa were nomadic groups of Hottentots and Bushmen. The Bantu living in South Africa therefore have no greater claim to the southern end of the African continent, than the white population.
- (c) As was correctly stated by Mr. Tom Mboya, South Africa is today the most highly developed and industrialised country in the continent of Africa. This was accomplished against tremendous odds with considerable sacrifices, and by the initiative of South Africans of European descent. By providing the necessary labour, non-whites contributed their share to the development of the country.

(d) And now the white population of South Africa is being told by the Afro-Asian countries, and also by the delegations of certain Western countries, that what has been built up over three centuries by their forebears and by successive generations of white South Africans, must be placed under the control of the non-white majority. That will be the logical consequence of the demand for full political equality in the same State. (There can of course be political equality if each of the races in the State is able to have a separate political development.)

Would the United States of America, Canada and the Latin American States—all countries whose respective early histories of colonisation are similar to that of South Africa—would they, if their relative proportions of white to nonwhite populations were the same as in South Africa, be prepared to hand over the control of their countries to negro or to “Indian” majorities?

Why is it that certain Western countries with large white populations are taking steps to limit quotas for nonwhite immigrants? Is it because in those countries racial friction has already manifested itself, and that they are taking timely precautions to prevent the extension of such friction? Are they perhaps worried about the formation of racial political “blocs” or pressure groups in years to come, particularly in the larger centres? I do not for a moment criticise those countries for taking timely precautions. But then they—and particularly their press and some of their clerics—should not criticise or attack South Africa for taking similar precautions, and for more valid and more urgent reasons.

Let me remind our critics and enemies that if the system of differentiation practised in South Africa is to be regarded as discrimination, then it is practised also against the whites. Whites are not allowed to enter urban Bantu residential areas without permits, and they enjoy no trading rights in Bantu townships. Similarly, whites are debarred from land-ownership in the Bantu Homelands, and are not permitted to participate in Bantu Authorities. Eventually whites will be barred from trading in the vast Bantu Homelands.

WHAT IS “APARTHEID”?

What exactly is South Africa’s policy of “apartheid” which has become almost a swear-word in many countries? How many of those

who attack South Africa, and who actually are threatening to apply sanctions, have any conception of what our policy is? Few know that the word “apartheid” is in fact an abbreviated term for the policy of “aparte ontwikkeling”, which means “separate development”—with the emphasis on the word “development”.

This policy has been cruelly, and I may add, maliciously misrepresented in press dispatches which have been appearing in the newspapers of many countries for a number of years. I dealt fully with this aspect of the anti-South African campaign when I addressed the Assembly last year, and do not intend repeating what I said on that occasion.

SOUTH AFRICA'S TRADITIONAL POLICY

South Africa's policy of separate development is not, as is generally supposed, the creation of the present Government. When speaking from this rostrum two years ago, I quoted from a speech delivered by General Smuts, one of the founders of the United Nations, more than 40 years ago in which he referred to “the practice that has grown up in South Africa of giving the natives their own separate institutions on parallel lines”. General Smuts went on to say: “It is useless to try to govern black and white in the same system. . . . In land-ownership and forms of government our policy is to keep them apart. . . . Thus in South Africa you will eventually have large areas cultivated by blacks and governed by blacks, while in the rest of the country you will have whites who will govern themselves according to accepted European principles”.

The policy of separate development, also known as apartheid, is thus clearly the traditional policy of South Africa, and is not, as is generally alleged, the evil conception of the present Government and more particularly of the present Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd. It is a policy which is equally in the interests of the white and of the Bantu population. It is intended to safeguard what has been built up over three centuries by the whites, but at the same time it takes account of the political aspirations, as well as of the traditions, cultures and also the material needs of the Bantu peoples.

BANTU AUTHORITIES

The Bantu Self-Government Act provides for progressively increased legislative, judicial and administrative powers for the Bantu

Authorities in their own territories. These territories, mostly situated in some of the most fertile areas of South Africa, were voluntarily occupied by the Bantu tribes which at the time of the arrival of the first Dutch immigrants were themselves migrating from Central and East Africa. The territories were subsequently reserved for the Bantu only. Not only are the laws excluding white occupation strictly applied, but huge tracts of adjacent land have subsequently been acquired by expropriating white owners. The Bantu Self-Government Act avoids the mistakes made in other parts of Africa, of over-hasty growth and of creating independent territories which are not yet "ripe" for self-government.

By this legislation, eight Bantu National Units are established on an ethnic basis, and provision is made for the corresponding Territorial Authorities. Experience in South Africa and elsewhere in Africa has shown that the splitting or the mixing of ethnic groups leads to clashes and internecine warfare.

Under this system of self-government, the Bantu have since 1951 increased their governing councils from about 60, with about 300 individual members, to 445 councils with no less than 6,550 individual members in 1961. This shows that the system is not only democratic, but that it has been well received by the Bantu, in spite of attempts by subversive organisations and white agitators to discredit this policy and to create unrest.

South Africa's policy is not, as is sometimes alleged, one of "back to the tribe", or "back to the bush". The object is to start with a system of government which is based on Bantu custom and tradition, but which will be further developed by the progressive introduction of fully representative government.

BANTU TESTIMONY

The undermentioned leaders of Bantu Territorial Authorities have in public statements signified their unqualified acceptance of the Government's policy of separate development, and have also expressed their appreciation of what is being done to develop self-government in the different Bantu ethnic areas. They are:

Chief Botha Sigcau, Presiding Territorial Chief of the Transkeian Territorial Authority;

Chief M. C. Chuene, Chairman of the Pietersburg Regional Authority;

Regent P. M. Shilubane of the Banuna Tribal Authority;
Cyprian Bhekuzulu, Paramount Chief of the Zulus;
Paramount Chief Victor Poto of Western Pondoland.

Among the most interesting of these testimonies is that which came from the leader of the Bantu in Ovamboland, South West Africa, who stated in August of last year: "The Ukuanyama has never been betrayed by the Union Government and has retained their country intact. This applies to the whole of Ovamboland and after forty years under Union administration the vast majority of the people are content that it should continue, despite agitation for changes from small and unrepresentative sections at home and abroad".

This statement, coming from the outstanding leader of Ovamboland in South West Africa, is an effective reply to Mr. Fabregat and his fellow members of the South West Africa Committee, who have been grievously misled by a small group of agitators from South West Africa.

Earlier in my address I quoted from statements by African leaders to show that the Western system of parliamentary government cannot simply be transplanted to the African territories. This is further proved by the testimony of Bantu leaders to which I have referred. We in South Africa, with our experience and knowledge of Bantu life and traditions, extending over a period of more than 200 years, have always realised this fact, which is the basis of the policy we have evolved which will eventually give to our Bantu fellow-citizens in their respective homelands full self-government, in accord with their own customs and traditions, and which is best suited to their own outlook, culture and temperament.

INDUSTRIAL AND OTHER DEVELOPMENT

A Bantu Industrial Development Corporation has been created for the establishment of industries in those areas. The Government of the Republic is providing the initial capital and will continue to assist financially. These industries will ultimately be owned and controlled by the Bantu themselves. I wish to emphasise that they will *not*, as in some of the African territories, be controlled by financial interests operating from other countries that pocket the profits and at the same time detract from the political independence of those States.

Industries are also being established near the borders of these Bantu

Authority Territories, thus providing employment for Bantu across the border, where they are living in their own country with their families, and in their own homes, under their own form of government.

The Government of the Republic is meanwhile undertaking the task and the expense of developing the Bantu territories, e.g. irrigation projects, fencing and soil erosion. The younger men are being instructed in the latest agricultural methods, and the Bantu are being provided with stud cattle to improve their herds. I would add that the Bantu areas are in no way inferior to corresponding areas occupied by whites, and in fact in some cases they are superior and able to support a larger population per acre than in most other parts of South Africa.

LINK WITH THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

A Commissioner-General for each of the ethnic groups serves as a link between the Government of the Republic and the relative Territorial Authority. He must reside at the headquarters of the Territorial Authority and it is his duty to bring to the attention of the Central Government the political, economic and social needs of the ethnic group to which he has been assigned. It should be emphasized that the Commissioner-General is not an Administrator, but that his post is analogous to that of an Ambassador to a particular country.

I would add here that, in order to accelerate the transfer of administrative and judicial functions to the recognised leaders of the Bantu, special schools have been and are in the process of being established in the different ethnic areas, for the training of young men who are likely to be leaders of their people, in modern methods of administration and also in economic and business principles.

URBAN BANTU

There are 2½ million Bantu who work and live in the European urban areas. Another 3 million are scattered in other European areas. It has been urged here, and elsewhere, that they should receive full political equality with the whites. I have already explained that the Bantu who live in the white areas will retain their voting rights in the self-governing areas from which they come and can return there for

that purpose, as is done by many of the 400,000 Bantu from the neighbouring British Protectorate of Basutoland, who are working in the Republic. There are altogether about one and one-third million Bantu who are not of South African origin. Our policy aims at maintaining the unity of each of the Bantu ethnic groups. It regards the Bantu living in the European area as part of his particular ethnic community in the Bantu Homelands. This policy is appreciated by the Bantu themselves, and leads to a greater measure of co-operation with the Government in the European area.

It is, however, recognised that provision must be made for Bantu living in cities and in the large towns to have a voice in municipal and other local affairs which affect their living conditions. The system of Advisory Boards which has been in practice for decades was recently extended so that the Bantu in urban residential areas will now be able to form Urban Councils to which are entrusted specified duties and responsibilities.

While on the subject of urban Bantu, it is interesting to note that one and one-third million Bantu from neighbouring territories who have come to live in South Africa evidently do not mind the alleged oppression. On the contrary, they share in the many benefits, e.g. social and medical services, housing and education, provided by the Government and by municipal authorities of South Africa for their own nonwhite citizens.

ILLITERACY IN AFRICAN STATES

One hears and reads much of illiteracy. This is not only an African problem. It is found also in leading Western countries and is rife in the Middle East and in Asian countries. I need hardly remind the Assembly of conditions in many of the independent African states. Having had experience of the way in which false information is spread about my own country, I do not unreservedly accept what I read about other countries. It is however interesting to find that more than one book dealing with conditions in two of the oldest independent African states, viz. Liberia and Ethiopia, tell of the appalling state of living conditions and also of illiteracy among the masses in those states. Even more interesting is the fact that it is those two states that have taken proceedings against South Africa in the International Court in which, *inter alia*, the Republic is charged with not having pro-

moted to the utmost the welfare of the inhabitants of South West Africa.

In fairness I must point out that illiteracy is a feature not only of Liberia and Ethiopia. According to a literacy map of the world only a few of the African states or territories show an illiteracy rate below 80%. I may add that the South African Bantu *only* is well below this figure, viz. 65%.

BANTU EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The great progress made in Bantu education in South Africa is considerably in advance of that made by most other African countries.

The success obtained is due to the fact that an educational system has been evolved which recognises that educational methods designed for European or American children with a different background, habits and behaviour patterns cannot simply be grafted on to the methods used for children that have grown up under entirely different circumstances. In most cases these children are acquainted only with values, interests and behaviour patterns learned from a Bantu mother, and who more often than not are living in surroundings still in an early stage of civilisation. Too often, missionaries from Europe or America have tried to transplant their systems of education to African countries, with unsatisfactory results. That mistake has been avoided in the system employed in South Africa, with the result that about 80% of Bantu children up to the age of 14 years are attending 7,412 primary schools. Eight years ago the percentage was only 58.

But similar progress has also been made in the secondary or higher schools which are providing higher education to 49,000 pupils. There are 48 institutions for the training of 4,500 teachers, and also 30 technical schools where at present 1,850 young Bantu are being trained. There are 27,800 teachers in Bantu schools, of which only about 1% are whites. This year at least 10,500 Bantu students will be writing the standard VIII (Junior Certificate) examination, and 2,000 will take the matriculation examination, which is necessary for entrance to a university.

But also in the field of higher education considerable progress has been made. There are three Bantu University Colleges where at present 1,580 students are enrolled.

In accordance with South Africa's policy of separate development,

the primary and secondary schools are controlled by Bantu parents who serve on 500 School Boards and 4,500 School Committees.

Finally, there are also Bantu Agricultural Schools where training is provided to enable the Bantu to improve their agricultural methods.

I suggest that the progress made in South Africa in the field of Bantu primary, secondary and university education far exceeds that of any other African state or territory. And yet the leaders of those states accuse the South African Government of neglecting, and even of oppressing the Bantu people!

THE ANTI-SOUTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN

I have referred to political and economic conditions prevailing in most of the states and territories of Central and North Africa—conditions of political unrest and of economic instability. By contrast, there is peace, prosperity and economic stability in South Africa, in spite of attempts by agitators and subversive elements, inside and outside of South Africa, to stir up trouble among the nonwhites, and to harm South Africa's economy. Inside South Africa there are subversive Bantu organisations, aided and abetted by overseas ultra-Liberalistic organisations, such as the American Committee on Africa in New York, and Christian Action in London, and by certain sections of the press in those countries.

They are further actively encouraged by the leaders of certain African states. An interesting feature of this latter type of encouragement, is that it is an important element in the keen competition among certain leaders to assume the leadership of the African states. In bidding for that honour, the idea is that the one that hits South Africa the hardest, is likely to gain the favour of the smaller African states. The leaders are of course not really worried about the Bantu in South Africa, because they know that they are far better cared for than the masses in their own countries.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

We firmly believe that the course upon which we have embarked in South Africa will ultimately solve the problem of relations between white and nonwhite races in our country. It is a policy which aims at progressively giving to the Bantu the complete control of his own

Homelands, and which by means of Urban Councils will provide the urban Bantu with the means to promote their material welfare and social needs. Similar steps have been taken and will be further developed also in the cases of the Coloured and Indian population. At the same time, this policy will ensure to South Africans of European descent control of their homeland, which over the past three centuries has been opened up and developed by their forebears and by succeeding generations of South Africans.

We believe that this policy of peaceful but separate co-existence will provide the solution of our racial problems, and ensure the happiness and prosperity of all South Africans—white, black, Coloured and Indian.

All that we ask is that we be permitted to carry out our policy of looking after the interests of our Bantu and other nonwhite peoples, without interference from outside, be it from Western, Eastern or African countries.

R E G I S T R A T I O N

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DOYEN OF DIPLOMATS

ERIC HENDRIK LOUW is not only the doyen of South African diplomats but could be regarded as the founder of the South African Republic's foreign service.

Fifteen years after the creation of the Union of South Africa, Mr. Louw was appointed the first trade commissioner in the United States and Canada in 1925. Four years later he became High Commissioner in London and shortly afterwards returned to the United States as South Africa's first Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. He was also the man who established formal diplomatic relations with Italy, France, Portugal and Spain.

He has led South Africa's delegations to seven assemblies of the United Nations and is probably the only statesman at the United Nations who also represented his country at the League of Nations' assemblies in 1929, 1934 and 1935.

Mr. Louw was elected to represent the constituency of Beaufort West in Parliament in 1938. Ten years later he became Minister of Mines and of Economic Affairs in the Cabinet of the late Dr. Malan. Among other Cabinet posts he held was that of Finance and, since 1955, his particular specialty, Foreign Affairs.

He is a fluent speaker in the country's two official languages, English and Afrikaans, and also in French. He is a formidable adversary in the field of public debate.

Mr. Louw has built up the reputation of an extremely hard worker which leaves little time for him to develop any hobbies. He is, however, an amateur artist who sketches portraits for his Christmas cards and as gifts for his friends.

Mr. Louw will be 71 on November 21st. He is married to the former Miss Anna Snyman, an accomplished violinist. They have a son, Martin, who practises law in South Africa.

